1:Gallin E-4,5 (1957-1958) 1966
AD5 Taiwan Hokkien AD5

or winnower jointly from their fathers or have recently purchased the item together. There are neighboring households which, for the sake of convenience, purchase some implement which none of the participants could or would have purchased independently. Finally, there are men in the village who are friends and join together to buy an expensive implement like an insecticide sprayer which they can all take turns using. Villagers who are friends usually influence one another. For example, several good friends in the village all grow the same vegetables for market sale. Village men who are good friends and share economic interests have many economic and social ties between them.

ANIMAL HUSBANDRY

Most of the village families raise some livestock. They may include pigs, fowl, some rabbits and goats, and a few water buffalo for work purposes. (See Table 12.) Livestock is generally not considered

TABLE 12

SURVEY OF NUMBER OF LIVESTOCK OWNED BY 87 HSIN HSING VILLAGE FARM FAMILIES, AUGUST, 1958

Livestock	Number
Water buffalo	17
Pigs	241
Chickens	361
Ducks	372
Geese	131
Rabbits	52
Goats	11

an important source of household cash income. Even the many pigs raised in the village (241 in August, 1958) are not considered a source of real income, since the villagers feel that raising pigs is more "like putting money in the bank." The reasoning behind this commonly made statement is that the price the butcher pays just about covers the money and time it costs to raise the pigs. Thus, when a farmer raises pigs he knows that as soon as the animals are sold he will have a sum of money at his disposal; it is, therefore, a sort of enforced saving. Usually the money has long since been earmarked for some special project—to build an extension to the family's house, to pay the expenses of an engagement or marriage, or to pay off a loan. However, if there is an impending marriage in the family, it is usual to slaughter one or more pigs for use in the marriage feast. Thus, when a village woman was asked when her twenty-two-year-old son would be married,

1:Gallin E-4,5 (1957-1958) 1966
AD5 Taiwan Hokkien AD5

618 423 not hold in common any significant amount of corporate land which could function as a source of unity by necessitating organization to administer such lands. Such *tsu* organization might easily tend to extend to other phases of *tsu* relationships and so possibly act as an additional unifying factor. On the other hand, Freedman (1958:63–76) 618 423 points out that on the mainland large *tsu* holdings have often been controlled by the wealthier members of the group, which sometimes results 423 578 in conflict rather than unity. But again, as Hsu (1949:129–130, note) 578 171 points out for West Town and other places, such a lack of significant *tsu* corporate land is very common.

618 474 Because Hsin Hsing village *tsu* groups are relatively small and generally not prosperous, they are limited in their ability to meet all the economic needs of their members or to fulfill the social needs of all the different personality types of the group. The small size of these *tsu* and other patrilineal kinship groups as well as the personality differences between some *ch'in tsu* relatives make it desirable for the cooperative ownership of machines and also cooperative work efforts to extend to non-kin friends and neighbors in the village if work is to be done effectively.

618 857 572 Even a member of a *tsu* group frequently forms close friendships from childhood on with non-*tsu* fellow villagers. For example, friendships through age groups of children and young people are quite common in Hsin Hsing. Children's play groups to a great extent are composed of children of the same sex and age. Because they necessarily live near each other, they are therefore most often relatives. In addition, however, they frequently include children who are neighbors but not kin-related and, as the age of the group increases, also non-kin children who come from other parts of the village. The latter may be schoolmates whose friendships become very deep and last into adulthood.

573 Some of the groups of boys who have been close friends since childhood become sworn brothers (*chieh pai hsiung ti*) in their late teens or early twenties. In doing so, such boys—usually in groups of about five to ten—make an informal pact which is often celebrated by a dinner. In their organization as sworn brothers they agree to help each other, cooperate in many of the ordinary chores of life, and aid each other in any emergency. There are also certain occasions, such as the birth of a child or the death of a parent, when the sworn brothers band together to render assistance above and beyond that expected of ordinary villagers. The membership of such a group for the most part crosses kinship lines, since as some sworn brothers once observed, [618] "There is no point in *tsu* relatives becoming sworn brothers."

571 621 All of these friendships and special relationships, if continued into

3: Wolf F-5 (1959-1961) 1968 AD5 Taiwan Hokkien AD5
Peihotien

willing to discuss certain topics with nearly anyone, but A-bok is even more cautious. There are a few long-standing trusted friends of the Lim family who serve formally and informally as peacemakers and as witnesses. As head of the family, Lim Chieng-cua often waits for their visits to air any grievances. This makes A-bok think of the friends as his uncle's rather than the family's and he hesitates to confide even in them. His mother seems to be the only person with whom he speaks frankly.

I hinted and probed for months before I got so much as an admission from him that there were problems within the family. Finally, my assistant and I came across him in a peanut field glutted with weeds. He was weeding frantically and clearly feeling very low. We spent the afternoon pulling weeds which came out somewhat easier than this interview:

"You have been living in our house for a long time now. I am sure you can see that our family is very complicated. I don't much like to talk about family business. If I told people outside the family, they would laugh and say, 'Oh, so the Lim family has *that* much trouble getting along with each other.'

"Look at this field! I have so many different things to do that I can't finish one before I have to jump to the other one. Since I planted this field, it has only been weeded once, and that's when I hired Ong A-giok to weed it. If grandfather were alive, the field wouldn't look like this. There wouldn't be a single weed and those ragged wind breaks would all be trimmed. It just couldn't be like it is now! It shames me."

We worked in silence for ten minutes or so and then A-bok continued, "If you compare the amount of work done by my family and by my uncle's family, who does the most? You just look around you. Even when my uncle sees that I am so busy he won't tell his children to do some easy job like taking the buffalo out to graze when they come home from school. This is work that farmer's children should do, but my uncle never urges his eldest son to do it. I have this many things to do all by myself, and then I have to do children's work too. What is going to keep the fields from growing to weeds? There isn't anyone who doesn't know how to just sit and receive. If he wants the fields full of weeds, I can do that too.

"The generations before me kept this land always planted and always in good order. How can I let them run down and lie fallow?

883 The child can now assume a regular full-time job but
464 girls have much better opportunities than boys for there are many clothing factories in the general area which employ girls as low-paid unskilled operators. Only a few boys are able to get jobs in factories or as apprentices. Additionally, since most of the farm labor work for females is compensated on a piece-work basis while the bulk of that for males is on a daily rate, girls have another advantage over boys because the payment on a piece-work basis is less risky
[562] because one only pays for results, not efforts. Since girls
[178] now produce more income than boys, many villagers remark, "Perhaps girls are worth more than boys!" (See Glossary C.)

885 Achievement of adult status is blurred; there is no real agreement in many cases. Marriage is nearly the only means for girls. Because of the increasing age at marriage and the fact that men are older at marriage and some never marry, it is possible for some boys to become men before marriage. There is not full agreement even on marriage al-
[276] though everyone agrees that parents are adults. People note when an individual earns enough to fully support himself and a boy rarely smokes before reaching this stage.

572 Boys and girls have little to do with each other. Boys pal around in intimate groups which often eventually become sworn brothers associations and in this way, a friendship relationship is institutionalized which is likely to last the rest of the boy's life. Girls too have intimate

572 groups but these are much less likely to continue after marriage. A girl is likely to establish a close relationship with no more than one or two other girls that may persist if their homes are not far apart after they are married.

593 [434] Most of the money young adults earn is turned over to the family but a small allowance is usually retained and parents buy extras or furnish money for such things as clothes. Instead of asking for money, a young adult hints broadly for what he desires. (Even after marriage, if residence is in an extended household, the money is still [593] likely to be controlled by parents.) It is the family's responsibility to save sufficient money for a boy's wedding and since the dowry of a girl from a "good" family will equal or exceed the bride price, the parents of girls too must save. In rare cases, it appears that girls are just sold at marriage with parents pocketing the entire bride price.

561 There is an occasional ceremony to mark a boy's sixteenth birthday which features food and worship with specialists. 702 Since Taiwan now has universal military training, almost all boys are drafted for one to three years of military service. Families often hold a going-away party for the boy and quite a few villagers accompany the boy to the military [bus] in Hsin Tien where local officials make speeches. Since [the] pay in the service is only $100.00 per month, a boy's family often provides a subsidy and because of the low pay,